1: Karsten--17 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 123 (1928-29)

"....the basis for my studies of the Jibaros living on the Upano has been the village of Macas, the inhabitants of which --mestizos partly of Jibaro origin--live in close contact with the Indians. Some of the 'Macabeos' know the Jibaro language well, and it was a great help for me that in the beginning I could use them as companions and interpreters on my trips to the Indians. But since it is obvious to me that the culture of an uncivilized people can be properly studied only by one who knows its language, I started learning the Jibaro language from the very beginning, just as I had earlier learned the Quichua language, and within a comparatively short time knew it sufficiently well to be able to converse with the Indians on common topics. I may say that after I gained the confidence of my savage hosts I found them as a rule excellent informants, very willing to tell almost everything I asked them about, and accurate even in small details. Although I have been present at the most important feasts of the Jibaros and know much from personal experience, there are still of course certain customs which I have not witnessed with my own eyes but only know through the accounts of the Indians. In such cases I always tried to verify the statements of one informant by those made independently by another, the substantial agreement between them being to me a confirmation of their truth. In the same way I have been anxious always to verify the information incidentally given by the inhabitants of Macas or by white settlers living in the country of the Jibaros."

1: Karsten--62 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
123, 579 (1928-29)

"From the point view of my studies of Indian customs of course my sojourn in Shakaĕma's house was extremely fruitful. During the two weeks our visit lasted I filled more pages in my note-book than otherwise I usually did among the Jibaros during months. But apart from this, my stay among Indians engaged in celebrating this savage feast was so trying that I needed all my strength of will to hold out. It is true that I did not witness such excesses in drunkenness as I had expected. The mestizos of Macas had told me that in their feasts the Jibaro Indians drink their natives [sic] beers excessively and that in their drunken condition they frequently engage in fights with one another with the result that even manslaughter sometimes takes place. There is some truth in these assertions, at least in so far that manioc-beer is really consumed in enormous quantities, being the most important entertainment at the Indian feasts. Although quarrels and even fights may occasionally ensue, such incidents are rare--unless the Indians drink brandy which is unfortunately sometimes brought from Macas. The Indians themselves are aware of the danger and therefore try to keep watch over and control one another at the feasts, the women particularly playing the role of mediators when quarrels arise. As soon as the drink rose to a youth's head so strongly that he threatened to become a danger to his fellows, he was at once deprived of his weapons, from which the warriors in normal cases never part, not even in a house."

s: Dickey--201[3] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 123, 609

"Five of us, including one white woman, lived with a Jivaro tribe numbering nearly two hundred for six weeks. The only contretemps suffered by our party came when we had exhausted all our excuses for not partaking of the vin du pays, the far from delectable chicha mascada, which was offered to us constantly, and is a drink evolved from yuca root mixed with the saliva of toothless, elderly Indian ladies. Apart from that, our treatment left nothing to be desired."

10: Anthony--147 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 123

"Accompanied by Mr. George K. Cherrie, the veteran of many a South American expedition, I spent about a month in the 'Oriente' and during that time saw a little of these Indians and was told a great deal concerning their customs by the few scattered families of whites who live on the edges of the Jivaro territory."

12:Harmer E-9 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Divers SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Islamization and permanent settlements, money was used as well. In visiting village households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly, voluntary account of their supplies of ammunition. Record-taking in the most isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved accepting the word of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed our continued relationship to his advantage and an amicable departure always occurred. In case the fact that I was often leaving directly with gunpowder and other goods for a household or neighborhood with which he was trading

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is an characteristic of this population. What is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Divers supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Divers soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Divers people live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Brooksville Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Divers preferring not to live close together for explicitly-stated anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is complex lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. * Egoism and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Divers soul beliefs constitute one of the best major systems of unbalanced thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (magic) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of the consciously existing world. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Divers soul beliefs

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

124 Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly way, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Lore-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my predecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jivaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial vari-

Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Fieldwork in the summer of 1964 was carried out under the auspices of the Associates in Tropical Biogeography of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the same institution. Sponsorship of the 1969 summer investigations was by the American Museum of Natural History, the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, and the Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies.

I am particularly indebted to Professor John H. Rowe of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, who first called my attention to the inadequacies of the published material on the Jivaro and who supported me in embarking on the initial field research,[9] when others felt that it was too perilous a project. Other colleagues who have been of particular assistance are Robert F. Murphy, James J. Parsons, Robert L. Carneiro and Kenneth Kensinger. My wife, Sandra, my son, James, and my daughter, Teresa, have helped make this work possible in such profound ways that they will probably never fully realize the depth of their contribution.

Ecuadorians and Americans in Ecuador who especially made possible the success of the fieldwork through their friendship and assistance were Dr. Alberto Flores González, Director of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, Sr. and Sra. Alfredo Costales Samaniego of the same institute, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Stuck, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Fiske, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Drown, Mr. W. Ferguson and Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Ferguson, and also Dr. Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who contributed linguistic information on the Jivaro language. Dr. Turner is not to be held responsible, however, for oversimplifications in the orthography used here.

My greatest debt, and one which I can never adequately

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

123 acknowledge, is to the innumerable *tsara* who guided me in my education in their culture. I value very deeply the sensitivity, intelligence, courtesy and hospitality with which they have consistently treated me. I feel no greater affection and respect for any people on earth.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jivaro families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth century among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the elderly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

34:Marner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

293 7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and
415 pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup
291 is the author's (Río Cenepa, 1956-57).
516
462
859
177
• 123
285

/2- 10-8/

34 Harner E-6, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDP Jivaro SDP

As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed on a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez. This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly cause increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

Many members of the tribe were convinced that the eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuiars, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a measure. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuiara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuiara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

An important aspect of the current situation is the differences between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a live land tradition, have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely adhering to agriculture and livestock raising, but also depend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gathering. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, especially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

14 Harner E-6, 5 [1956-1969]1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[2.8] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one consisting from the Río Chiguaza region against the Achuara in 1971. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

4. The Jívaro, their Jívaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the trophies. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37-40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the trade was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81-82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 161-68, and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only substitutes (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are real), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

[55] 5. Name of the visitor. The visitor's name is usually learned from reported accounts of those persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

[21] 1. The appearance of the comet is well remembered, and in fact in-formants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[27] 2. Vasco Collado, 1892, p. 42; Cevallos, 1882, p. 56, and oral historian recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a hoe steel trade to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Sharu in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1966.

[19] I am indebted to Dales Steinhard Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.